

THE
L D · S M I S T A K E
I N
LiverCromwell;
O R,
Short Political Discourse,
S H E W I N G,
C R O M W E L L · S Mal-admini-
stration, (during his *Four Years*, and
the *Monetbs* pretended Protectorship,)
and the Foundation of our present Con-
dition, in the Decay of T R A D E.



Jn J. Bethell
5.

LONDON,
The Year MDCLXVIII.

Qui est omnis





The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, &c.

F all the Sins, that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of *Idolatry*, a Sin, that may be towards Men, so well as other Creatures, and things; For, as that which a Man unmeasurably relies, and sets his Heart upon, is Called his *G O D*, even as that which he falls down before, and worshippeth: so, when one hath the Person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for Greatness or Richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to Idolize him; and therefore the wise *Vene-rians*, who, of all men, are most Jealous of their Liberty, Considering that as the nature of Man is not prone to any thing more than the Adoration of Men; So nothing is more destructive to Freedom, hath, for preventing the Mischiefs of it, made it unlawfull, even so much as to mourn for their Duke at his death; Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends not upon the uncertain Thred of any one Man's life; but upon the Virtue of their good Laws, and Orders, well executed, and that they can never want vertuous Persons to succeed: and how do such Principles in men, lead by little more than Moralitie, reprove those, who have a great measure of Gospel-light, for their senseless excess, in their adoring the remembrance of *Crom-well*. For as the Objects of Idolatry are mistaken Creatures, or things, proceeding some times from self-love, so well as other Causes, So the undeserved approbation, and applause, that *Crom-well's* memory seems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little less, than the Idolizing of him, appears to me, to be the product of an excessive Veneration of Greatness, and a selfish Partiality towards him; for that the more honour is given to him, the more prayse they think will consequently redound to

them, who were his Favourites; and they fortifie themselves herein, with the Credit they say he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion that Strangers have of him may well be put upon the account of their ignorance, in the Affairs of England, which Travellers do finde, to be so great, even amongst Ministers of State, as is to be admired. And now as this Error in Idolizing Oliver hath two moral Evils in it (besides the sin in it self:) The one, a reflection upon the present times, as if the former were better than these; And the other, the unjust defrauding the Long Parliament of that which is due to them, to give it Idolitously to him, to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a Duty incumbent upon me, to discover this Mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall by this, draw the envy of those upon me, who, being Jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their Diana; but knowing my self clear, from the Vices of envying Virtue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in Judgment, so well, as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will cast my self upon Providence, for the success of this Paper; And in reference to Cromwell's Government, and the present times, make some Observations relating to both, and, in order thereunto, shew,

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had it's beginning in Oliver's time, and the foundations of it, layed, either, by his ignorant mistaking the Interest of this Kingdome, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppression, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never in his later dayes, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much Idolized) but that the partiallity of the world, should make him so great a favorite of ignorance, and forgetfullness, as he seems to be.

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as some calls him) turned out the Long Parliament, the Kingdome was arrived at the highest

highest pitch of Trade, Wealth, and Honour, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customes and Excise, Nine hundred thousand pounds a year, being refused. The Riches of the Nation, shewed it self, in the high value, that Land, and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulencie. Our Honour, was made known to all the world, by a Conquering Nation, which had brought the proud *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to begg peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock, was Five hundred thousand pounds in ready Money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some four, and none under two months; so that though there might be a debt of near Five hundred thousand pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, Cromwell began his Usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable Leagues, in what manner he had pleased withall our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of *England*; But as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sence and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making peace (without ever striking stroak) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust Warr with *Spain*, and an impolitick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendome; and by that means, broke the ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predecessors the Long Parliament, had always wisely preserved.

In this dishonest Warr with *Spain*, he pretended, and indeavoured to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the Protestant Cause, and the honour of this Nation; but his pretences, were either fraudu-

lent, or he was ignorant in Foreign affairs (as I am apt to think) that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish Prelacie, and the French Court policies, could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve the reformed Interest in *France*, was by rendring the Protestants of necessary use to their King, for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecuti-
on, and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the bal-
ance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that, which would con-
sequently make them usefull to their King: But by overthrow-
ing the ballance in his Warr with *Spain*, and joyning with *France*, he freed the French King from his fears of *Spain*, inabled him to subdue all Factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them, and from thence, hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that Nation, against the reformed there; so that *Oliver*, instead of advancing the reformed Interest, hath by an error in his Politicks, been the Author of destroying it.

The Honour and Advantage, he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a foundation : For if true, as was said, that we were to have had *Ustend*, and *Newport*, so well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no proportion in any kind, to all the rest of the King of Spains European Domi-
nions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French Kings share, because of their joyning, and nearnes to him, and remote-
ness from us, and the increasing the greatness of so near a Neigh-
bour, must have increased our future dangers: But this man, who through ignorance, is so strangely cryed up in the world, was not guilty of this error in State only, but committed as great a solecisme, in his designing the outing of the King of *Denmark*, and setting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the *Sweeds*, but got *Copenhagen*, (as in all probability had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of consequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzicke*, (which by their then potencie, they would easily have gained) of being Masters of the whole *Baltick Sea*, on both sides, from the *Sound* or mouth down to the botome of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*, and

and the *Danes*, part of *Holstein*, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having as they still have the Land of *Bremen*) . there would have been nothing, but the small Counties of *Cronenburgh*, and *East-Frieland*, (which would easily have fallen into their mouths) betwixt them, and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden*, would on the one side to the North, and North-East, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South, and South-West ; and they two, able to have divided the *Western Empire* betwixt them.

And whereas, it had in all Ages been the policies of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick Sea*, devideed amongst several petty Princes and States, that no one might be sole Master of it ; because otherwise, most of the necessary Commodities for Shipping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the whole, might lay up the shipping of Europe, by the walls, in shutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell* contrary to this wise Maxime, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick Sea* into the *Sweeds* hands, and undoubtedly had (though I suppose ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the Long Parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it : For if he had understood the importance of the *Baltick Sea* to this Nation, he could not have been so impolitic, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new *Utopia*, as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant, that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had *Elsinore* and *Cronenburgh Castle*, (the first, the Town, upon the narrow entrance of the *Baltick*, called the Sound, where all Ships Rides, and payes Toll to the King of *Denmark* ; and the latter, the Fortress, that defends both Town and Ships,) by which we should have been Masters of the Sound, and consequently of the *Baltick* ; but they that knows those Countries, and how great a Prince the *Sweed* would have been, had he obtained all the rest, besides these two Bables, must confess, we should have been at his devotion, in our holding of anything in his Countries : And further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a Prince, had not been in the case, it had

had been against the Interest of England to have had an obligation upon us to maintain places so remote; against the comity of many States and Princes; and that for these reasons.

First, because the ordinary Tolls of the Sound, would not have defrayed half the charge, and so have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a generall quartel upon us, from most of the Princes, and States of the Northern parts of Europe.

Secondly, because the experience of all former times sheweth us, that foreign acquisitions, have ever been Chargeable, and prejudicial to the people of England, as Sir Robert Cotton makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of France, which belonged to us by rightfull succession; but also those we held by Conquest, were alwayes great burthens to our Nation, and cause of much poverty and misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone, to be the worse for Conquests, (although more ours, than other Countries, because of the Charge and uncertainty of the WYNDES and WEATHER in the Transportation of Suedours and relief by SEA, which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Maines, are not subject to,) but the Case also of (I think I may say) all other KINGDOMS. In FRANCE, their burthens and oppressions have grown in all ages, with the greatness of their Kings; Nay, even after their last peace with SPAIN, by which they had given them peace with all the world, besides many places in the SPANISH NETHERLANDS, and CATALONIA into boot; upon which the poor people priviledged themselves (though vainly) an unquestionable abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their pressures increased dayly, and their King, though overruly great and rich himself, yet the people so poor, that thousands are said to dye in a plentifull year, for want of bread to their water, nothing being free there; but fresh water and air; For (except in some few priviledged places) wherever they have the conveniencie by their Situation of SEA water, (least they should make use of the benefit wherof, which God and Nature hath given them; for saving the charge of Salt,) every family is forced to take so much Salt of the King, at his own rate, (which is above ten times the price it is sold for to strangers, for

consideration; it is judged by many spend in a year, little less
 deliver all other Countries from their example. In this case, that
 King, Court, and their Military Officers, are the bane for their
 Country; in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and some places
 mostly belonging to Poland, but the Commons the worse; Spain
 undone by the great number of people sent thither to the West
 Indies, which hath depopulated the Country; France reaping
 more benefit by keeping their people at home to Manufactures,
 than Spain doubtless sending theirs abroad for Silver and Gold,
 and now, though by these instances it may appear to be the Inter-
 est of the people of other Nations, so well as ours, to live in
 peace, without coveting additions; yet it is more our true Inter-
 est because, by reason of our Situation, we have no need of
 Foreign Frontier Towns, our Ships well orderedy being better
 than other Princes bordering Garrisons & than any other King-
 dom to neglect especially European acquisition, and colonies, and
 apply ourselves unto our own Land, of which we have
 more than we have people to manage; and blundly we not becom v.
 to security; To the Increasing our Home and Foreign Trade,
 for which we have natural advantages above any other Nation;
 Thirdly and Lastly, if by our strength which Trade will in-
 crease; To make use of it, together with the helps that God and
 Nature hath given us in our Situation, and otherwise, in keeping
 the Balance amongst our Neighbours; For if the Province of
 Holland, which is but Four hundred thousand Acres of profitable
 ground, is by the benefit of Trade able to do so much, as we ex-
 perienced the last Warre, what might we do, if Trade were im-
 proved, who have much more advantages for it, than they have:
 I subscribe what was done by the *Netherlands* in the late Warre to the
 Province of *Holland*; because, that though the Provinces are
 seven in number, *Holland* due proportion of all charges, is $5\frac{8}{9}$
 hundred, to all the others $4\frac{1}{3}$, of which $4\frac{1}{3}$, *Holland* gets
 little more than $\frac{1}{10}$, honestly paid them, insomuch, that it alone
 may be reckoned to beat four fifties in a hundred, to one fifth that
 all the other six bears; and how prodigious a thing is it, that
Holland, no bigger than as before mentioned, should be able to

Coop with England, Scotland, and Ireland; and than through their
 Charges in the late Warr was abundantly greater than lossesight
 by their good management, so to little the worse for it, that
 at the conclusion of the Warr, so have their Credit so high, that
 they could have commanded what Money they had pleased
 Three in the Hundred, and all this by the mere additional benefit
 of Trade and good Order; and how by Cromwell's indiscreet neg-
 lecting of Trade, and choosing Warre when he was in Peace, did
 he miss the true Interest of England, as by his ill founded de-
 signs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion; For if he
 had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the Spanish Territories in
 the West-Indies, (as God seldom prospereth dishonest undertakings) it being intended for a State acquisition, the benefit
 would not have been desulsive; but chiefly to himself and Par-
 nesses, and prejudicial to the people in general, though at the ex-
 pense of their substance, the conquests would have been made:
 For had he met with so much success in the gaining those Com-
 munities, and in them, that plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly
 hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the
 depopulating of our Countries, by the loss of the multitude of
 people that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our
 Nations by the vast charge of a continual Warr) as Spain is, and
 by no other end, than the making of him only Rich, able to sub-
 due the remaining people, and to make himself absolute over
 them; for the preventing of which, in such Tyrants as Cromwell,
 surely Moses had an eye, when he said that they should not greatly
 multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as Cromwell's designs must,
 by an impartial Judgement, appear to have been laid, some dis-
 honestly v^e others impolitickly, and al^t contrary to the Interest of
 the Kingdome, so the Issue of them was damageable to the
 people of England: As, i. in his sudden making a Peace with Holland, so soon as
 he got the Government, without those advantages for Trade,
 as they who bear them did intend to have had, as their due, and
 just satisfaction for their Charges in the Warr, or be not cared v^e ill
 Secondly, in his Warre with Spain, by the loss of the beneficial
 Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the Dutch, by
 whose

whole family we drave (during the War) the greatest part of
that Trade which we had of it, with 25; in the hundred profit
to them, and as much losse to us.

Thirdly; by our loss in that war with Spain, of 1500 English
ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called Richard's
Parliament.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at Hispaniola that ever
this Kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly, and lastly, in spending the great Publick Stock he
found, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom, as ap-
peared by the Accoupts brought into Richard's Assembly; which
had, (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who un-
der him managed the Affairs, were a sort of People who had
been long disciplin'd, (before his time) to a Principle of Hu-
gility, and against Cheating; though extolling the poorer
People, for their Masters benefit, some of them were grown as
dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of Spain; For
besides imposing Richard upon the People, after his Fathers death,
by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be
in being, when by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in
an Accoupt of the Receipts, and payments of the Kingdom,
they made about Sixty thousand pounds spent in Intelligence,
whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most; and
calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they
were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that olivers Peace and League with France,
was upon honourable Articles; but as the tottering Affairs of
France then stood, much more could not have been sooner
asked, than had; For Mazarine, being a Man of a large and subtle
wit, apprehending the Greatness of England at that time, which
was then dreadfull to the World, and the Vast advantages France
would have in falling down, by their help, of Spain, granted
him not onely any thing for the present that he demanded, but
disregarded also, even his Parties making their boasts of the
owe he had him under, Considering, that when Cromwell had
helped him, to do his Work, in bringing under the House of
Austria, and therein casting the ballance of Christendom on his
side.

Sir, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what he had
 seemed to part with; And though nothing is more ordinary
 than to hear Men bragg, how Oliver was peised over France, &
 doestrem Maschine's comphiring with him, for his own ends,
 to be the Chief piece of all his Ministry, Far by that means only
 and no other, is his Master become so great at this day, that
 no Factions at home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers abroad
 frighten him, Which is more than any King of France, since
 Charles the Great, could say; And when his Neighbour Nations
 have (too late I fear) experienced his Greatness, they will finde
 cause to Curse the ignorance of Oliver's Politicks; and therfore
 when a true measure is taken of Cromwell, the approbation
 that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation
 in sense or reason, but proceeding from Ignorance, and
 Atheisme; From Ignorance in those that takes all that was done
 by him, as a Servant, and whiles under the direction of better
 Heads, than his own, to be done by him alone; And from Atheism
 in those that thinks evry thing lawfull that a man doeth
 if it succeed to his advancement; But they that shall take an im-
 partiall View of his Actions whilst he was a Single Person, and in
 liberty to make use of his own Parts, without controul, will
 finde nothing worthy Commendations, but cause enough from
 thence to observe, that the wisedom of his Masters, and not his
 own, must have been that by which he first mov'd, and to continuall
 his former performances, whilst a Servant, (as is shewed,) for
 the Judgement and Subtilty of the Long Parliament, under
 whose Conduct and Command he was; And now from Cromwells
 neglecting to live in peace, as if he had pleased he might have
 done with all the World, to the great enriching of this Nation,
 The improvement of our Victory over Holland in his peace
 with them, His being the Cause of the losse of our Spanish
 Trade, during all his time, Of the losse of 1500 English ships
 in that War, besides, by 15, breaking the Ballance of Europe,
 Of the expence of the Publick Stock and Stores he found, with
 the contracting a Debt of Nineteen hundred thousand pounds
 according to his own accompt, (which, for ought I know he left
 behind him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so
 great,

gave him light to make his Sonne Richard's Assembly as a
mean to get the more Money from the poore people. And
many of the chichourable persons weare with him & shall it
not well be Concluded that he lay the Foundation of our present
war of Ireland & what we formerely enjoyed, and that the reason
why this miseries were not sooner under observation, riseth be-
cause our Stocke of Wealth and Honour goe his Coming to the
summons, being then inspeakably great, staid their ap-
pealers, and having since had some small additions
insomuch they are now become discernable at the Lasses to the Merchant,
who Concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards
showered by the addition of second Losses, what sinckes him :
when I contynue in these great Battalions, I cannot but appre-
hend his sad condition : any people late in, whose Government
hath an additione contrary interest to theirs, for doubtless Crom-
well's over-weening Care to lecture his particular Interest, against
the Majestie, & then abroad, and the Long Parliament, whom
he had taen out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring
domine shalwe in the World, neareid himong all his Mistakes
and Abusives, to the irreparable losse and damage of this sa-
me Kingdom, monsieur a misterie : se brouit il non
suspoudre the second Assertion, That Oliver's Time was full
Oppression and Injustice ? I shall be instanced in a few of many
examples, and begin with John Lilburne whom I think him
only kynde one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal
kynnes is queto the worst so well as best men, and that he comes
all in order of time.

John (in 1649) was by Order of that then Parliament tryed
this laste winter / I believe / of taking him away, but
the jury notwithstanding heldt Guilty, he was immedately, according
to law, generously separat liberty by those, that had quarrell
against him. This Example in the Parliament of keeping
the Law in the case of one, who was al professed implacable
to him, ought to have been Copied by Cromwell, but
the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt his
his Predecessors (& the Long Parliaments) Principles, when
the Law had again upon a second Tryal (occasioned by Oliver.)
Cleared

Cleared *Lilburne*, the Parliament submicing to the Law no Example to him; But, contrary to Law, he kept him in Prison unsill he was so far spent in a Consumption, that he only turned him out to dy. *John Quayle* had New year notably. Mr. *Cobyes Case* is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Prisoner at Cromwell's Suit, and being brought to the Kings Bench Barr by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Counsel taken from the Barr, and sent to the Town for no other reason than they pleading lost their Clients Cause; an Act of Violence; that I believe is the whole Story of England doth not parallel.

Sir *Henry Vane*, above any one Person, was the Author of Oliver's Advancement, and did so long, and cordially Espouse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it, yet so ungrateful was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studed to destroy him, both in Life and Estate, because he could not adhere to him in his Perjury and Falseness. The occasion he took was this; He appointing a Publick Day of Humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all Gods Peoples Declaration, to offer him their advise in the weighty affair then upon his shoulders: Sir Henry taking a rise from hence offered his Advise by a Treatise, called *The Healing Question*; But Cromwell, angry at being taken at his word, Impeached, Imprisoned, and deavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir Ham suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

In *Richards Assembly*, certain Prisoners in the Town, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to Faversham, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of false Imprisonment. Their Gaoler was sent for, and being required to show by what Authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a Paper under Oliver's own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you leise me and such Persons, and all others, whose you shall judge dangerous men, do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done.* The nature of this Warrant was by Richards Assembly debated and having first *Richardsown Counsell's* opinion in the Case, the Serjeant

W^m. 1651. Sept. 15. 1650. mid of his speech
and Maynard, &c. they Voted the Commitment of the
Prisoners to be Illegall, Unjust, and Tyrannical; and that
first, because the Warrant by which they were Committed, was
under the hand of the then (as they called him) Chief Ma-
istrate, who by Law ought not to commit any by his own War-
rant. Secondly, because no Cause was shewn in the Warrant;
And Thirdly, (in the Case of those sent out of the reach of
Habeas Corpus, which in Law is a Banishment) because no
English-man ought to be Banished by any less Authority than an
Act of Parliament. And therefore, for these reasons, they Vot-
ed farther, that the Prisoners should be set at Liberty without
paying any Fees, or Charges, but the turning out, and punishing
the Lieutenant by the Assembly, for obeying so unjust a War-
rant, was prevented by their (odious dissolution).

The Tyrant in the decimating a party restored to com-
mon Priviledges with all others, and the publick Faith given for
by a Law made to that end, by the then powers in being, is
insufficient shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this
aggravating Circumstance in it, That Cromwell, who was the
principal Person in procuring that Law, when he thought it for
his advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it;
But to the honour of his first Assemblie, next following, it may
be remembered, that they no sooner came together, than like
the English-men, who are always jealous of the Rights and
Priviledges of the people, damned the Act of Decimation as an
unjust and wicked breach of Faith.

The third Assertion of Cromwells knowing no honesty, where
he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good:
First (though therein he mistook his Interest.) in his odious and
unjust War with Spain, without the least provocations, merely
out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that Prince
of his Silver and Gold Mines, and because he judged it for his
Credit to disguise his unlawfull desires, he proceeded in it, by
employing his Creatures in the City, to draw the Merchants to
complain of Injuries done them by Spain, and to Petition for Re-
parations, but by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary
success; for instead of answering his seekings, the Merchants

remonstrated to him, the great prejudice that a Warr with us would be to England, and shewed that that King had been far from Injuring us, that he had done more for Condoning and preventing a breach with England, than ever he had done in the course of any other Nation. But when Oliver saw his Method would not take, he called the Remonstrants Malignants, and began the Warr of his own accord, in which, he was highly ingratefull in designing the ruine of that Prince who all along had been most faithfull to his Party.

Secondly, His Falsehood and Ingratitude, appeared especially in turning out his Masters, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial affection towards him, and in his doing it, with the breach of a positive negative Oath, taken once a year, when made a Counsellor of State, besides the breach of all other Engagements, Oaths, Imprecations, Protestations, and Oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in Discourse and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and exposed them to the Fury of the People, in publishing them with false reproachfull Declarations, enough to have armed up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they met them.

Thirdly, His want of Honour, so well as Honesty, appeared yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a seeming plott, and deportment, gained by his dissimulation, good thoughts in his Masters, the Long Parliament, and by his spiritual gifts, raised himself into so good an opinion with his Soldiers, (men generally of plain breeding, that knew little besides their Military Trade, and Religious Exercises) that he could impose, in matters of business, what Belief he pleased upon them; He made use of the credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile practises, for making himself popular, and the Parliament and Army odious to one another; and because the Artifices he used are too many to inumerate, I shall but instance in some few. As his lie, complaining insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving rewards to his Creatures, and then, whil-

confidence amongst his Officers; of whose ill Husbandry & His
ungrateful House in their business, by long drudging
Speeches, and other ways, and then complaining of them to his
soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was
good, giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise
with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all
with forgetfulness: And his deserting his Major Generals, in
their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he
only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly,
it not to be forgotten, &c. It would not be understood, to re-
member any thing here, in Favour of the Long Parliament, for
what might be Wicked in him, might be Just as to them; And
though, if what he did, had been for the Restauration of his Ma-
jesty, he might have been excused, yet being for his own Single
Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be
only admired for nothing but Apostasie & Ambition, and exceed-
ing *Tiberius* in dissimulation. I am not ignorant, that some thinks
matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years,
and nine months; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having
done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one
fifth part of that number of Souldiers which he Commanded;
though he, hath also had the trouble of presing, and sometimes
forcing Uniformity in Religion, which he found under severall
Forms; whereas *Oliver*, kept the Nation purposely divided in
opinions, and himselfe of no declared Judgement, is the sickest
way of ingaging all severall persuasions equally to him; which
districe, together, with his leaving the Church Lands alienated
he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I
know of, which he kept unto. The Honesty of these Principles,
I referre to the judgement of every mans Conscience; but if we
may judge of things by experience and success, they seem to have
been very happy in the world; For in comparing the Condition
of the Protestant Countries at present, to what they were in
times of Popery, we shall find them abundantly more considera-
ble now, than formerly; for in taking a true Survey of the Re-
formed Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion
to all in Ingencess, to the Popish, and that there is nothing, that
keeps

keeps the Ballance betwixt the two parties, but the advantage that the first hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of Rome; and the latters being under it; For as the Church of Romes mercies, rare (by their Principles) Cruelty so had they power answerable to the naturall richness of the Soyl of their Countries, and extent of their Territories, they would long ere this have swallowed up the Protestant Churches, and made Bonfires of their Members; but as God, in his Mercy and Wisdome, hath by his Over Ruling Hand of Providence preserved his Church; so for the Romish Churches inability to effect that which they have will, and malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural reasons.

First, There being generally of the Popish Countries, above one Moyetic belonging to Churchmen, Monks, Fryars, and Nuns, who like Droans, spends the Fat of the Land, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these Sorts, and Orders, occasions great want of people every where, (they being uncapable of any Children but those of darkness) except in France, which is an extraordinary Case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that belief are; but especially from the Multitude of Protestants, that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind Devotion of these People, carrying them on to vast expences, in the building, and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous Churches, Chapells, and Crosses, &c. with the making chargeable Presents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meane sort, to their Idolls, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many Holydayes, upon which, the labouring man is forbidden to work, adds much to their poverty.

But Fifthly and Lastly, The vast number of begging Fryars, who living idly, and purely upon the sweat of other mens brows, without taking any labour themselves, makes it impossible for the lower sort of people, who thinks they are bound in Conscience to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition.

Now whoeover shall seriously weigh and ponder these Circumstances, under which the Popish Countries lyes, and consider the Reformeds advantage in being free from them, must needs it the less wonder, that the Evangelical Princes, and States, with their small Dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up against them; and now as the alienation of Church-lands, the turning out the Romish Vermin, the Priests, Monks, Fryars, and Nunnis, (who devour all Countries wherever they come) and freedom from the Popish Imposition upon Conscience, hath mightily increased the greatness of the Protestant Princes, and States, to what they antiently were, and the not doing the same in the Popish Countries, keeps those Princes under; so, even amongst the Reformed, where the Church Lands are most alienated, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they prosper most, as in Holland, and some parts in Germany, with other places. And on the contrary Denmark, where Church Lands are least alienated of any of the Reformed Countries, and the City of Luebeck, where, of all the free Imperial Cities of Germany Liberty of Conscience is least given, they thrive best in both places. And I think it will also hold, that as this famous Kingdome, in the times of Popery, was in no measure so formidable as now it is, so before the Restauration of our Hierarchie in their Lands, their hoarding up the money which before went to Trade, and their discouraging and driving into corners the industrious sort of people, by imposing upon their Conscience, it nourished more, was richer, and fuller of Trade, than now it is; And I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That if ever any Protestant Countrey, should be so farr forsaken of the Lord as to be suffered to turn unto Popery, these Observations will be made good in their visible losse of the Splendor, Riches, Power, and Greatness, that they now know.

Had Cromwell been a Person of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been les scandalous, but having been a Professor of Religion, they are not to be pleaded for, neither can it be consistent with Religion to palliate them which have been of so much offence, and (as may be feared) made so many atheists in the World; And I cannot but stand amazed,

where I have been entangled by some of his ignorant and
 Practises, knowing him Religion &c and (as I hope) serving
 God. Now I will suppose I may be suspected to have been injured or
 disobliged by Oliver; but I can wish Truth affirme, I never receiv-
 ed either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than is
 Common with the whole Kingdom (which I think may be al-
 lowed to render me the more a Competent Judge in his Case) and
 that I am so farre from being moved unto this, out of any qua-
 to him, that, as I have here mentioned, some few of many In-
 justices, and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his time,
 If I were conscious of any thing more, during his Pro-
 tectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should
 not envy it him, but freely remember it; and if any think I have
 not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his disadvantage,
 I have this for my Buckler, that I wish I could haue said more
 for him, and had known less against him, professing, that besides
 what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action
 in all his Four Years and Nine Moneths time, done either
 wisely, Vertuously, or for the Interest of this Kingdom, and
 therefore that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardoned
 by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject, but this may suffice to shew, that if Mazarine (at the hearing of Oliver's death)
 thought he had then reason for calling him a Fortunate Fool,
 he were now living he would finde more Cause for it, Crispin
 Lott, as to Reputation, having been exceedingly much greater
 since his death, than whilst he was in the World: And also
 from forgetfulness of his impolitick Government, (from whose
 Entrance we may date the commencement of our Trades decay).
 And (through want of memory) in mens giving to him the
 Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But what opinion soever Mazarine may have had
 of Oliver, he was without all peradventure a Person of more
 than ordinary Wit, and no otherwise a Fool than as he was
 Honest, no Man being wise but an Honest Man.

